TEXT OF TELEGRAM 80SEOUL 012787

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

I RELEASE XI EXCISE 1 DENY

**FOIA** Exemptions

PA Exemptions

( ) DELETE Non-Responsive Info

) DECLASSIFY 心) DECLASSIFY IN PART

MR Cases Only: **EO** Citations

TS authority to.

**CLASSIFY** as ( ) S or (C) C OADR

) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C OADR

9003668

ADP550

SEOUL 12787 O1 OF Q3 300928Z PAGE 01 **ACTION EA-12** 

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 /081 W SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 300958Z /17 ---043602

P 300908Z SEP 80 FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9409 INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING AMEMBASSY - TOKYO SA CINCUNC KS CHUUSMAG SECUL KS COMUSKOREA SEGUL KS//BJ-IS CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

TETION OF OF OS SECUL 12787

E.O. 12065: GDS 09/30/86 (GLEYSTEEN, W. H.) OR-M

TAGS: PINS PGOV SHUM KS US

SUBJECT: "THE MOOD IN THE CHOLLAS

SEOUL 9829

ENTIRE TEXT)

SUMMARY: EMBOFF RECENTLY SPENT THREE DAYS IN KWANGJU, THE CAPITAL-OF SOUTH CHOLLA PROVINCE, AND ONE IN CHONJU, THE CAPITAL OF NORTH CHOLLA, SPEAKING TO A NUMBER OF KOREANS ABOUT THE MOOD OF THE PEOPLE IN THE AREA. THE SAMPLE WAS HEAVILY WEIGHTED TOWARD THE MORE EDUCATED AND ECONOMICALLY PRIVILEGED ELEMENTS OF SOCIETY -- PROFESSORS, NEWSMEN, - AMD-GUSINESSMEN--AND THE FINDINGS MAY NOT BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MAJORITY OF CHOLLA RESIDENTS.

3. THE ATMOSPHERE IN KWANGJU SEEMS NORMAL, WITH NO EXTRAORDINARY SECURITY MEASURES VISIBLE (THOSE SURROUNDING

PAGE 02

SEOUL 12787 01 0F 03 300928Z

EMBOFF'S VISIT WERE PERVASIVE). PEOPLE THINK THE KWANGJU UPRISING WAS CAUSED ALMOST TOTALLY BY THE BRUTALITY OF THE PARATROOPERS, AND DISCOUNT REGIONALISM AS A CAUSE. PRESIDENT CHUN IS HELD DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACTIONS OF THE PARATROOPERS, AND IS A HATED AND FEARED MAN IN THE AREA. U.S. STOCK IS DOWN BECAUSE OF WHAT MANY FEEL WAS AT LEAST ACQUIESCENCE IN CHUN'S MOVES, BUT THERE IS NO OVERT ANTI-AMERICANISM. WHILE LESS-EDUCATED KOREANS ARE SAID TO BELIEVE MANY OF THE CHARGES AGAINST KIM DAE JUNG, THOSE PAGE NO.

UNCLASSIFIED

SPOKEN TO MATALY DISCOUNT THEM.

4. IN THE SHORT RUN, A RECURRENCE OF MASSIVE PUBLIC ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS SEEMS UNLIKELY, EVEN IF KIM DAE JUNG WERE EXECUTED; THE LONG RANGE OUTLOOK IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT. THE RESIDENTS OF CHOLLA, IN TRUE KOREAN FASHION, ARE MAKING THE BEST OF WHAT THEY CONSIDER A BAD DEAL. THEY MAY NOT PREVAIL, BUT THEY WILL SURVIVE. END SUMMARY.

### 5. THE SETTING.

PERHAPS THE MOST STRIKING INITIAL IMPRESSION OF KWANGJU IS THAT ITS ATMOSPHERE IS NORMAL. THERE SEEM TO BE NO MORE POLICE OR TARRED FORCES PERSONNEL THAN ELSEWHERE IN KOREA, AND PEOPLE GO ABOUT THEIR USUAL BUSINESS. THE ONLY VISIBLE SIGN OF THE MAY DISTURBANCE IS THE KBS BUILDING NEAR THE STATION. THE FIRST TWO FLOORS ARE STILL AS THEY WERE WHEN FIRE GUTTED THE BUILDING, AND BROADCASTING IS GOING ON FROM A BUS. THERE IS A LOT OF NEW CONSTRUCTION GOING ON, AND SIGNS EXHORTING CITIZENS TO "WORK FOR A NEW KWANGJU" ARE IN ABUNDANCE: WHILE SOME PEOPLE REFUSED TO SEE EMBOFF, THOSE WHO WERE WILLING TO DISCUSS POLITICS WERE SURPRISINGLY FRANK. THE DISTURBANCES ARE ON EVERYONE'S MIND, AS

PAGE 03 - SEOUL 12787 01 OF 03 300928Z

IS THE FATE OF THE 175 PEOPLE UNDER INDICTMENT AS A RESULT OF THE DISTURBANCES.

ACTIONS AGAINST THOSE WHOM THE GOVERNMENT SEES AS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISTURBANCES CONTINUE.  $\P$ 

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND PRESIDENT, THERE IS NO QUESTION WHO IS IN CHARGE, AND EXTRA SECURITY IS CLEARLY NOT NEEDED. IN CHONJU, THE CAPITAL OF NORTH CHOLLA PROVINCE, THERE IS EVEN MORE CONSTRUCTION WORK GOING ON, IN PREPARATION FOR AN ALL-KOREA ATHLETIC MEET IN OCTOBER, AND AN EVEN GREATER AIR OF ACTIVITY AND BUSTLE THAN IN KWANGUU.

## 6. THE KWANGJU RIOTS AND THEIR CAUSE.

PEOPLE IN KWANGJU ARE PROUD OF THE WAY THE CITY FUNCTIONED DURING THE MAY DISTURBANCES. "ALL THE SERVICES CONTINUED, AND NOT ONE BANK OR CREDIT UNION WAS ROBBED," SAID ONE PROFESSOR. (THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT PEOPLE IN KWANGJU ARE SYMPATHETIC TO THE RIOTERS. "SUCH DISTURBANCES HELP KIM IL SONG, AND CAN'T BE ALLOWED," SAID THIS SAME PROFESSOR. "I

B145

8125

PAGE NO.



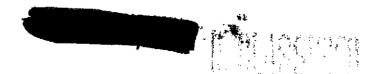
UNCLASSIFIED

TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSEOUL 012787

DON'T CARE IF THEY PUT THE RIOTS DOWN SEVERELY, BUT THE BRUTALITY WAS TERRIBLE.") NOT SURPRISINGLY, VIRTUALLY EVERYONE SPOKEN TO DISCOUNTS REGIONALISM AS A CAUSE OF THE RIOTS ("MAYBE, ONE PERCENT," SAID A SOURCE), AND MANY ARE ANGRY WITH AMERICAN AND JAPANESE NEWSMEN WHO REPORTED TO THE CONTRARY. SOMEWHAT ILLOGICALLY, THESE SAME KOREANS

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED



PAGE 01 SEOUL 12787 02 0F 03 300946Z ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03\* NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-06 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 /081 W

P 3009082 SEP 80
FM AMEMBASSY SECUL
TO SECSTATE WASHOC PRIORITY 9410
INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
SA CINCUNC XST
CHJUSMAG SECUL KS
COMUSKOREA SECUL KS//BJ-IS
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

SECTION 02 DF 03 SECUL 12787

WILL OFTEN GO ON TO EXPLAIN IN DETAIL THE SLIGHTS THE CHOLLAS HAVE SUFFERED AT THE HANDS OF SECUL AND THE KYONGSANC PROVINCES THROUGH THE CENTURIES. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF KWANGJU, WHERE FEELINGS ARE MUCH DEEPER, THERE SEEMS TO BE LITTLE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE IN THE WAY THE RESIDENTS OF NORTH AND SOUTH CHOLLA PROVINCES SEE THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE MAY DISTURBANCES. - THEY RESENT THE WAY THE PEOPLE OF KWANGJU WERE TREATED, AND PERHAPS FEEL GUILTY THAT THEY DID NOTHING IN SYMPATHY OR SUPPORT OF THE INSURGENTS. IN ANY CASE. THESE KORCANO CLAIM TO A MAN THAT THE CAUSE OF THE DISTURBACICES WAS THE BRUTALITY OF THE PARATROOPERS WHO WERE INITIALLY SENT IN TO CONTROL THE SITUATION. MOST OF THE KOREANS WHO SPOKE TO EMBOFF IN KWANGJU SAID THEY PERSONALLY SAY THE PARATROOPERS COMMITTING OUTRAGES AND HAVE VIVID MEMORIES OF THEM. (IN CONTRAST, NO ONE HAD ANY COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE 20TH ROKA DIVISION'S ACTIONS WHEN THE CITY WAS REJAKEN AFTER THE DISTURBANCES.) WHILE ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE KILLED BY THE PARATRODPERS VARY

PAGE 02

SECUL 12787 02 OF 03 300946Z

\*AT LEAST A
THOUSAND, SAID A PROFESSOR), NO ONE SEEMS TO ACCEPT THE GOVERNMENT FIGURE OF 185 DEAD. ONE EX-NEWSMAN CLAIMED THAT AT LEAST 300,000 OF KWANGJU'S 800,000 POPULATION WERE INVOLVED IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER IN THE DISTURBANCES, AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S EXCESSES TOUCHED, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE CITY'S RESIDENTS.

B 1 AS



IND IGGICIE

## 7. PERCEPTIONS OF CHUN.

REACTION TO PRESIDENT CHUN (M-R: CHON TU-HWAN) RANGES FROM VIOLENT HATRED TO A SOMEWHAT GRUDGING ADMISSION THAT HE HAS SOME GOOD POINTS. SEVERAL KOREANS MENTIONED THAT WELCOME SIGNS FOR THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN DEFACED THE TWO NIGHTS BEFORE HIS ARRIVAL ON A RECENT VISIT, AND ALL SAID THERE HAD REEN NO APPLAUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MOTORCADE (ONE KORFAN SAID "EVERYONE" KNEW THAT ANYONE WHO APPLAUDED WOULD BE KILLID. SEVERAL KOREANS SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT MISSED A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF HEALING WOUNDS WHEN HE FAILED TO APOLOGIZE FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSI-BILITY FOR THE UPRISING (A COUPLE OF THESE SAME PEOPLE ADDING ILLOGICALLY THAT "NOTHING HE COULD DO OR SAY WOULD MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE"). OTHER REASONS FOR THE LACK OF ESTEEM IN WHICH CHUN IS HELD ARE THE BRUTALITY OF THE PARATROOPERS. THE TREATMENT OF KIM DAE JUNG (M-R: KIM TAE-CHUNG), AND THE SPOILING OF LAST SPRING'S RELATIVELY LIBERAL POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE. ONE KOREAN IN KWANGJU SAID THAT PEOPLE USED TO REFER TO PRESIDENT PARK (M-R: PAK CHONG-HUI)- AS- KIM IL-SONG'S YOUNGER BROTHER, BUT NOW SAY PRESIDENT CHEN WILL SURPASS KIN IN HIS EXCESSES. AN AMERICAN-MISSIONARY IN CHONJU SAID SOME NORMALLY CONSERVA-TIVE PARISHIONERS CALL THE PRESIDENT "GANGSTER." ON THE

PAGE 03 - SEGUL 12787 02 0F 03 300946Z

OTHER HAND, SOME CONTACTS SPOKE FAVORABLY OF THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS AS THE NATION'S LEADER, AND THE PURIFICATION
PROGRAM CAME IN FOR SINCERE PRAISE. EVEN IF ONE ACCEPTS AT
FACE VALUE THE EXPRESSIONS OF PERSONAL HATRED MADE BY SOME
IN THE CHOLLA AREA TOWARD PRESIDENT CHUN, THIS HATRED IS
NOT ACCOMPANIED BY ANY EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS TO GO INTO
THE STREETS IN PROTEST. EVEN THE STUDENTS, WHOM TWO OR
THREE KOMEANS DESCRIBED AS "TERRIFIED," SEEM TO POSE LITTLE
THREAT TO PUBLIC ORDER FOR THE MOMENT.

# 8. KIM DAE JUNG.

SEVERAL PEOPLE WHO SEEMED QUITE FRANK ON OTHER ISSUES WERE OBVIOUSLY UNCOMFORTABLE TALKING ABOUT KIM (A STORY THAT THE EX-GOVERNOR OF NORTH CHOLLA LOST HIS JOB BECAUSE HE ONCE SHOOK HANDS WITH KIM IS MAKING THE ROUNDS IN CHONJU). VIRTUALLY EVERYONE SPOKEN TO SEES THE CHARGES AGAINST KIM AS AT LEAST PARTIALLY FALSE. ONE PROFESSOR SAID KIM IS STILL EXTREMELY POPULAR WITH THE PEOPLE OF KWANGUU. "ALL THE TAXI DRIVERS SUPPORT HIM." HOWEVER, THE PROFESSOR, WHO SAYS HE KNOWS KIM QUITE WELL, SAID THAT "I DON'T LIKE THAT KIND OF MAN." THERE WAS A FAIR AMOUNT OF INTEREST IN WHAT THE U.S. WOULD DO IF KIM WERE EXECUTED, BUT NO ONE PREDICTED, VIOLENCE IN THE CHOLLAS EVEN IF KIM WERE PUT TO DEATH.

UNCLASSIFIED

. WCLASSIFI

K

7

9. PERCEPTIONS OF THE U.S.



NNN

.

B115

UNCLASSIFIF

PAGE NO. 6

TEXT OF TELEGRAM BOSECUL 012787

SEOUL 12787 03 OF 03 3009542 PAGE 01 ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-06 SY-05 SYE-00 DCT-02 /081 W 

P 300908Z SEP 80 FM AMEMBASSY SECUL TO SECSTATE WASHOC PRIDRITY 9411 INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING AMEMBASSY TOKYO SA CINCUNG KS CHUUSMAG - SECUL KS COMUSKOREA SEQUL KS//BJ-IS CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

SECTION 03 OF 03 SEOUL 12787

AMERICAN STOCK IN KWANGUU IS AT A LOW POINT. SOME KOREANS ARE RELUCTANT TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH AN AMERICAN DIPLOMAT, BUT OTHERS BROUGHT IT UP ON THEIR OWN. THE VIEWS CAN FAIRLY BE SUMMARIZED AS "I DON'T PERSONALLY THINK THAT YOU AMERICANS WERE DIRECTLY REPSONSIBLE FOR BRINGING CHUN TO POWER, BUT LOTS OF PEOPLE DO. I MYSELF WONDER ABOUT THE U.S. ROLE IN TROOP MOVEMENTS HERE, GENERAL WICKHAM'S SUPPORT OF CHUN, AND IF YOU HAVE PROTESTED SUFFICIENTLY STRONGLY CHUNYS ACTS." MOST KOREANS SPOKEN TO DENIED THAT THERE ARE STRONG STRAINS OF "ANTI-AMERICANISM" IN THE CHOLLAS, BUT ALL SAID AN UNEASINESS ABOUT RECENT U.S. ACTIONS PERSISTS.

## 10. SECURITY SURVEILLANCE.

EFFORTS BY WARIOUS SECURITY AGENCIES TO MONITOR EMBOFF'S VISIT WEPE\_IMPRESSIVE, EVEN BY KOREAN STANDARDS. SINCE THE KWANGUU TOURIST HOTEL IS OBLIGED TO GIVE THE IDENTITY CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SEOUL 12787 03 OF 03 300954Z

OF FOREIGN GUESTS TO THE POLICE, THE LATTER HAD AN ADVAN-TAGE FROM THE BEGINNING. KOREAN CONTACTS WERE QUESTIONED ABOUT THE CONTENT OF CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFF AFTER THE FACT (EMBOFF HAD WARNED THESE CONTACTS OF THE LIKELIHOOD OF JUST SUCH AN OCCURRENCE) AND THE PRESBYTERIAN HOSPITAL IN KWANGJU, A RESPECTED INSTITUTION RUN BY AMERICANS, WAS CALLED AND ASKED ABOUT THE VISIT, EVEN THOUGH THERE HAD BEEN NO APPOINTMENT MADE THERE.

THE NATIONAL POLICE PAGE NO.



ADP552

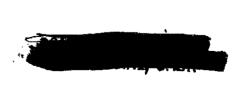
CALLED AN FSN IN SECUL TO INQUIRE ABOUT THE TRIP. SHORTLY AFTER THE TRIP, A KCIA FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICER TOOK EMBOFF TO LUNCH TO EXPLAIN THAT SUCH TRIPS OUTSIDE SECUL ARE UNNECESSARY. AND THAT THE KCIA WOULD LIKE TO HELP WITH APPOINTMENTS ("INCLUDING WITH SOME PEOPLE WHO DON'T LIKE PRESIDENT CHUN") IF EMBOFFS MAKE SUCH TRIPS ANYWAY. EMBOFF TOLD KCIA OFFICER THAT TRIPS ARE A NORMAL PART OF A POLITICAL SECTION'S WORK, AND THAT ROKG SURVEILLANCE ACTIVITIES AND HARASSMENT OF CONTACTS IS IMPROPER IN A SUPPOSEDLY NON-COMMUNIST ALLY.

- 11. COMMENT: IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BE SURE WHAT THE PEOPLE OF KWANGJU THINK; THEIR PERCEPTIONS ARE STILL IN FLUX AND CONTAIN NOT A FEW INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS. NEVERTHELESS, SOME GENERALIZATIONS CAN BE MADE.
- -- THE CAUSE OF THE DISTURBANCES WAS THE BRUTALITY OF THE PARATPOOPERS. PRESIDENT CHUN IS HELD DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACTIONS OF THAT GROUP BY THE PEOPLE OF CHOLLA.
- -- PECPLE OF CHOLLA DO NOT LIKE PRESIDENT CHUN. YET EXCEPT FOR KWANGJU IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT SOME SORT OF MODUS-VIVENDI WITH THE CHOLLAS ON SOME BASIS OTHER THAN

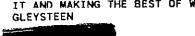
#### PAGE 03. SEOUL 12787 03 0F 03 300954Z

THE PRESENT-PERVASIVE FEAR OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE HIGHWAY TUNNEL THROUGH MOUNT CHIRI NOW UNDER STUDY AND CHUN'S INSTRUCTIONS ON SEPTEMBER 25 TO DOUBLETRACK THE RAILROAD PROMIRI SOUTHWARD TO NEAR KWANGJU ARE STEPS IN THAT DIRECTION.

- -- THERE IS GENERAL MISUNDERSTANDING OF U.S. ACTIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES ABOUT OUR ACTIONS (OR LACK OF ACTION) DURING THE KWANGJU DISTURBANCES, BUT THIS IS NOT ANTI-AMERICANISM. NEVERTHELESS, THE VAGUE FEELING, OF DISAPPOINTMENT WITH AMERICA MAY COLOR THE WAY A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE YOUNG GENERATION PERCEIVES US.
- -- THE GOVERNMENT NEED NOT FEAR A RENEWAL OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE CHOLLAS IN THE SHORT TERM. THERE IS NO DESIRE TO DO ANYTHING THAT MIGHT PRECIPITATE A RECURRENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT ACTIONS SEEN IN MAY. EVEN THE EXECUTION OF KIM DAE JUNG WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO BRING ABOUT ANY MAJOR OVERT PROTEST. THIS MOOD COULD CHANGE, AND IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT POSSIBLE PRECIPITATING EVENTS.
- 12. DOES ALL THIS MEAN THAT A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF THE NATION WILL BE INDEFINITELY SULLEN AND UNRESPONSIVE TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT? THE ANSWER SEEMS TO BE NO. THE RESIDENTS OF CHOLLA, INCLUDING KWANGJU, KNOW THAT A BARRIER EXISTS BETWEEN THEM AND THE REST OF KOREA AND WANT IT TO



GO AWAY (HENCE THE INSISTENCE THAT REGIONALISM PLAYED NO PART IN THE DISTURBANCES). THEY ARE ALSO, LIKE MOST KOREANS, REALISTS. THEY ARE AWARE OF THE REALITY OF THE NEW ORDER AND ARE BUSILY ENGAGED IN COMING TO TERMS WITH IT AND MAKING THE BEST OF WHAT THEY CONSIDER A BAD BARGAIN.



# UNCLASSIFIED

NNN



UNCLASSIFIED